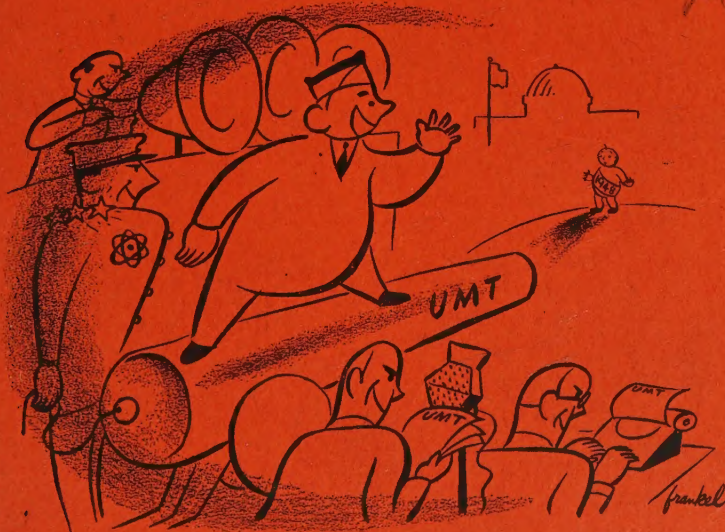


Fellowship

14-15
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-1949



PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

The Way Forward, by A. J. Muste

A Meditation for the New Year, by Allan Hunter

High-Pressured for UMT, by Alfred Hassler

I'll Pay My Taxes, by Theodore Paullin

4,14-15
1948-49

NEW DRESS

WITH the New Year comes a new **FELLOWSHIP**: refurbished and rejuvenated, styled for fitting pocket or purse, esthetically satisfying with its bright covers, intellectually stimulating in content. . . . New features will include regular articles by Milton Mayer; special pages devoted to the news of international pacifist activities, race relations, labor, rural and local FOR programs; and, from time to time added sections of photographic and other illustrative materials. . . .

THIS MONTH

A Meditation by Allan Hunter, minister of Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, Los Angeles; *The Way Forward*, by A. J. Muste; *High-Pressured for UMT*, by Alfred Hassler; and *I'll Pay My Taxes*, by Theodore Paullin, of Connecticut State Teachers College.

NEXT MONTH

Milton Mayer begins his regular comment . . . *Wilbur Burton*, longtime correspondent to China, challenges China Missionary on Chiang and the Communists . . . and a section of powerful anti-war lithographs by *Louis Freund*.

FELLOWSHIP

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Vol. XIV—No. 1

Subheads

Human Nature



Another answer has popped up to the boys who reject pacifism because "you can't change human nature." Colonel S. L. A. Marshall, military historian, has dis-

closed that only about 15 per cent of the riflemen in the American Army during the past war actually fired their guns at the enemy. The rest would shoot when an officer stood by, but not otherwise. So reports the *Milwaukee Journal*, anyway. Army psychiatrists, added the colonel, ascribed the "failure" to "fear of killing, not fear of being killed."

The colonel let the cat out of the bag about who makes the best soldiers, too. "Men who had been consistently bad actors in the training period—lazy, unruly and disorderly—just as consistently became lions on the battlefield," he revealed, "with all the virtues of sustained aggressiveness, warm obedience and

thoughtfully planned action. When the battle was over and time came to coast, they almost invariably collapsed. They could fight like hell but they couldn't soldier."

"Devoutly Recognizing . . ."

There is a group of citizens patiently laboring to get Congress to consider what they call the "Christian amendment" to the Constitution, which would rewrite the Preamble of that document to read: "We, the people of the United States, *devoutly recognizing the authority and law of Jesus Christ, the Saviour and King of nations*, in order to . . ." It is unlikely that Congress will find time to discuss the matter, since its time will be taken up with consideration of or appropriations for such Christian projects as atom-bomb ranges, universal military training, and bacteriological warfare research.

Hypnosis

This kind of proposal, which apparently is made in all seriousness, reflects the hypnotic effect words can have on people—what *The New Yorker* calls the "Fascination with the Sound of Own Words Depart-

January 1948

ment." We suspect that there are many Americans who would be made very happy by the adoption of such an amendment, and who would discern only dimly any inconsistency in such an action on the part of a nation that spends ten billion dollars a year for war preparations but gags over half that amount for world reconstruction. Nor, we imagine, do they realize how difficult it would be for a nation that is not willing to turn over the former Japanese-mandated islands to the United Nations, to surrender national sovereignty to anyone who carries the title of "King of Nations."

Statesman

While Roger Axford was picketing the Department of Justice for release of imprisoned COs last year, the Presidential limousine pulled up one day and Mr. Truman leaned out and thumbed his nose at Roger.

Relief

Forty-six structural tax changes have been suggested by the Special Tax Study Committee, appointed by Rep. Harold Knutson last June. The changes would give most tax relief to corporations and individuals with high incomes, since the committee felt that "incentives" should be increased. As usual, a labor leader proved to be the disruptive influence, with Matthew Woll, only labor representative on the committee, complaining that the proposals would shift the tax burden from the rich to the poor. The radical Mr. Woll has the subversive idea that tax reductions should go first to those who would spend the money for such unnecessary luxuries as milk and eggs and dentist bills.

Onward Christian Umtees!

"In the UMT you are much more than a body to be bayoneted or bulletted. You are more than organized flesh to be set in the wake of some rolling barrage. You are more than an animated sandbag. You are first and last and always a religious animal and UMT will not let you forget it." —"Chaplain Murphy" in *The Pioneer*, Fort Knox UMT camp newspaper, March 8, 1947.

Moral Leadership

John S. Knight, millionaire publisher of the *Chicago Daily News* and other papers, has proposed a five-point program for peace which he got read into the *Congressional Record* the other day. Point number one is the retention and development of "our moral leadership in world affairs." The other



four points, presumably intended to implement the first, call for an air force of "terrifying superiority"; the acquisition of air bases throughout the world "as a condition of our economic assistance"; increased military forces in occupation areas, using UMT if necessary to get the men; and a rearmament program that will help us to "speak the only language that Russia understands."

Reassurance

Every once in a while the cloud of anxiety that came as a by-product of Hiroshima is lifted a little by the brave words of some undaunted soul. Latest on the list of these fearless characters is Admiral W. H. P. Blandy, who denies that a little thing like a lot of destroyed cities

will decide an atomic war. A "virile" nation, says Admiral Blandy, will fight on regardless, so long as its ammunition lasts, and since nobody's going to be foolish enough to store ammunition in such "obvious targets" as cities, it stands to reason it can fight a long time. The Admiral did not comment on the current practice of storing people in these obvious targets.

Progress

Chemical, biological, and climatological weapons more deadly than the atom-bomb, and capable of wiping from the face of the earth the last vestige of human, animal and vegetable life, are now in the arsenals of several great powers, according to Rear Admiral Elias M. Zacharias, wartime deputy chief of naval intelligence. Unlike the atom bomb, they are easy and cheap to manufacture, available to any nation with a reasonably good laboratory. Writing in *United Nations World*, Admiral Zacharias says, "There is no defense against absolute war, except to make war itself obsolete."

Penetration

You hear a lot these days about the penetration of the labor movement by the Communists, but we can't help thinking that the papers are missing out entirely on another kind of infiltration that may be just as dangerous. What we're thinking of is the insidious way in which Christian ministers are worming their way into the movement. Just off-hand, there's Kermit Eby, a former Brethren minister, now head of the whole CIO educational (propaganda) work; the Rev. Orville C. Jones, CIO educational director in Ohio; the Rev. David S. Burgess, on the staff of the Textile Workers

Union of America; the Rev. Nelson Cruikshank, AFL director of Social Security activities; and the Rev. Charles C. Webber, president of the Virginia Industrial Union Council. Pretty subversive, wouldn't you think?

Our Own Readers Digest

If the American people don't wake up soon and take steps, they are going to find out that they have a government of, by, and for the military. This may be a little over-simplified, but you'll be alarmed enough if you read "The Military Moves In," by Hanson Baldwin, in the December, 1947, *Harpers Magazine*.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Assignment of American Army officers and men to Greece has been increased from 40 to 210, and in Turkey from a dozen to 60.

* * *

Twenty atom bombs, the English House of Commons was told in November by Professor Harold C. Urey, could create enough radioactivity to destroy all living things along the west coast of the United States.

* * *

Major Alexander P. de Seversky, airplane designer and manufacturer, has told the Air Policy Commission that the United States should spend \$20,000,000,000 on its air force in the next five years, over and above the regular annual outlay.

* * *

The United States, pursuing its course as a peace-loving and unaggressive member of the United Nations, is setting up an "atomic proving ground" in the Pacific, at Eniwetok atoll. The inhabitants, like the unfortunate population of Bikini, will be moved to another location.

When the times are "out of joint,"
pacifists and the world must look for

THE WAY FORWARD

By A. J. MUSTE

One text for this New Year dissertation is furnished by a personal letter which Emily Greene Balch, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, whom I have known for three decades and more, sent me recently. We had been corresponding about a conference. She replied: "The idea that I proposed a popular conference to dramatize the atomic war danger is a misunderstanding. *It is exactly what I do not want.* . . . Fear is a poor counsellor, narrow, self-centered and unreasonable. . . . What I proposed was that some peace leaders should confer together as to how we can awaken people's consciences against allowing preparation for ever more hideous forms of war. . . . Let us never encourage people to waste time on thinking what other people might do to us, and *concentrate on creating a country that nobody can be afraid of.* Let us neither be frightened nor frighten others."

Another text might be found in an Irwin Shaw story which appeared in the *New Yorker* in 1942 under the title, "Preach on the Dusty Roads." The story is about a father, a high-salaried accountant for a great corporation, who says farewell at the railroad station to his son going off to war. After leaving his son the father, who had been a placid, stodgy person, has "a blinding moment of apocalyptic vision." Irwin Shaw's description of the content of that vision is as follows:

"The war [the father thought] was being fought for twenty years and I didn't know it. I waited for my son to grow up and fight it for me. I should've been out screaming on the street-corners. I should've grabbed people by their lapels in trains, in libraries and restaurants and yelled at them: 'Love, understand, put down your guns, forget your profit, remember God. . . .' I should have walked on foot through Germany and France and England and America. I should've preached on the dusty roads. . . ."

A Minority Mentality

Most pacifists have a minority or a "pie in the sky" mentality. Pacifism is for them a way of life for a select few. Or if they do think of it as a way of life for mankind, they agree with the Communists who, after studying the Sermon on the Mount with our French FOR leaders, André Trocmé and Edouard Theis, in a Vichy concentration camp, told these Christian pacifists that some day everybody would live as Jesus taught and lived, but "after the revolution; it isn't practical now."

I respect people who on theological grounds believe that only a Remnant will be saved and will enter the Kingdom in the beyond, though I think they grievously misread the meaning of prophetic religion, for example, and of the incarnation. But pacifists who theoretically be-

lieve in brotherhood and non-violence as the true basis of individual and social life but who have an "it isn't practical now" psychology are doomed to frustration, disillusionment and futility.

We ought to take our pacifism to the masses. This involves a strenuous and painful effort to learn to talk their language. I am aware of that though I do not have space to discuss it. But taking pacifism to the masses does not mean diluting it. Movements which influence history come to men with a distinctive way of life, a philosophy of history, strenuous personal demands, a clear-cut and drastic social program. There has to be a banner to which men can rally. It may, probably will, have "a strange device," but there must be one device, not several, and it must be printed in very bold type.

Pacifism has to enter the field against nationalism, communism, fascism, as an alternative all the way along the line.

To be quite specific, I believe that we should concentrate on proclaiming pacifism as the policy for the United States to adopt at this historic juncture. "Put down your guns," as Irwin Shaw exclaims. Not some day, not "if everybody else will too"; but "put down your guns." Period. There is, I am convinced, no other objectively honest thing for pacifists to do nor any other that holds out any promise of practical results.

There are dozens of ways in which the present international situation, the problem of preventing atomic and bacterial war, can be approached, and each will lead to the same conclusion.

For example, from the ethical or religious point of view atomic and bacterial war is the sum of sins and utterly demoniacal. Now those who shy away from proclaiming the de-

mand that the nation simply withdraw from this sin seem to me to think of repentance and conversion as a business where Russia, the United States and the other nations line up and presently when God shoots off a gun they all shout simultaneously, "I repent, I lay down my arms." It just doesn't happen that way. On this basis "there ain't going to be no repentance."

World-Government Dilemma

Or take the dilemma of the world government people. One after another they conclude that if Russia won't play ball, the "democratic" countries will have to form a federal union without Russia, though of course the door will always be open. But *an armed federal union* without Russia will, no matter what anyone privately wishes, be armed against Russia. Indeed not a few advocate it frankly on the ground that it will be so powerful that the men in the Kremlin will just throw in the sponge. This attractive and pious cloak of federal union is just the device the military may finally need to persuade the masses that the atomic-bacterial World War III is "really" different, truly idealistic, even holy. The only thing pacifists and thoughtful people can advocate is *an unarmed federal union*.

To take one more illustration, what the Truman Doctrine-Marshall Plan means is that the United States goes to the other nations and to Russia in particular with food and tractors in one hand and atomic bombs in the other. Russia, in the first place, cannot let Uncle Sam in on those terms. Are we now encouraging a Russia who is trying to acquire atomic bombs, to penetrate the United States? Why should we expect Russia to do anything but

exclude an America already equipped with a big stockpile and brashly announcing to the world that it is fencing off a big area in the Pacific to make more deadly ones?

In the second place, on these terms we are ourselves not really honest about offering economic aid to the rest of the world. We are not really going to put Russia or other nations on their feet so long as we regard them as our enemies in a "cold" war. Our economic program is part of our military program so long as we have both. And in the third place, we cannot in any substantial measure have both, cannot spend huge sums on armaments and other forms of military preparedness and at the same time give adequate support to reviving stricken economies—or even avoid internal economic catastrophe. Nor do we have much longer to make up our minds as to whether we shall drop the food and tractors or drop the atomic bombs and those obscene little packages of disease germs.

Program for the Nation

We might state our program for the nation, then, in the following terms:

1. The United States, to quote the lead editorial in the September, 1947, issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, shall make "equal concern with the well-being and peace of all mankind" the basis of its national policy, recognizing that this is "the only possible moral basis for world leadership" and for "breaking the vicious circle of power politics." The United States, in other words, shall behave as a decent member of a world-community and not as a sovereign, war-preparing, anarchistic nation-state.

2. The United States Congress

shall immediately withdraw appropriations for the production of atomic and bacterial weapons and the Administration shall order cessation of all such work. (As Emily Greene Balch said in the letter already referred to, "How can our decent people placidly see our money spent on planning the spread of disease?")

3. Plans shall be drawn up immediately for orderly but rapid dismantling of the United States military establishment. At the same time the United States shall invite other nations to join it in a movement for universal disarmament, calling for an early special meeting of the United Nations (non-members also to be invited) to achieve this end. The United States shall, however, make it clear that its own schedule of disarmament will be carried through, whether or not other nations are ready at once to join in.

4. The United States shall declare its readiness to join a genuine, though limited, world government which shall have police power to enforce federal laws, including a world Bill of Rights, in all lands. It shall, furthermore, if some nations are unwilling to join in such a move, invite those nations which are ready to enter with it into an *unarmed federal union*, with the door open for other nations to join as soon as they desire it.

5. Appropriations diverted from military purposes together with other available resources shall be used to develop the constructive potentialities of atomic energy and other scientific discoveries in a vigorous and concerted effort to raise the world standard of living. In the early stages of this effort, it may be necessary in order to save others from starvation for the people of

the United States to accept some reduction in their standard of living and we believe that it will be possible to do this without impairment of the national health. Furthermore, the people have demonstrated in wartime that they are prepared to accept controls for the achievement of what they regard as a worthy objective. We believe they should and will accept, if these are honestly and democratically determined, the controls that may now be necessary in order to achieve a rapid and substantial bettering of the world standard of living, which would furnish a sure basis of peace and general security and well-being.

6. The elimination of war industries and of the war system generally and the orientation of American policy toward the general well-being of all peoples will have far-reaching and powerful effects upon our economic life and will raise important economic problems. "Forget your profit," as Irwin Shaw observed, is as much a part of a peace program as is "Put down your guns." It will no more be possible to leave the solution of these economic problems to chance or individual whim than it would be, for example, to depend on such factors to mobilize the nation for war purposes. Careful and extensive planning on both the national and international level would be necessary. All elements should be drawn in to make democratic decisions on basic policies. The most expert help obtainable should be charged with carrying out these policies in the most efficient manner. The social purpose to which economic life was directed would reflect itself in the structure of certain sections of industry. Cooperatives would be extensively used. With the war system, which is the great driving force for

centralization and regimentation in the contemporary world, eliminated, all this would be the very opposite of imposing a global political and economic tyranny on men. On the contrary, national economic autarchy would become unnecessary. Economic activities could be largely decentralized with power easily available. And with the tension of fear lifted from mankind and the level of education everywhere raised a great release and flowering of human energies could occur.

Something like this would be the program of a great effort, stirring the imagination and calling forth the energies of the American people, to defeat war, poverty, disease and ignorance all over the earth.

How to Rally Support

Only the briefest reference can be made in the space that remains to pacifist strategy for rallying support to such a program, and again, for convenience, the suggestions will be listed.

1. Adoption of the program would involve a profound reorientation of the mind of the American people. They would have to analyze themselves, their delusions about national sovereignty and the "protection" provided by atomic weapons, their fears and hates. This could happen only if the intellectual and spiritual leadership of the nation made a clean break with war. This involves, for one thing, the churches. Fortunately, the churches in the Jewish-Christian tradition are bound by their own professions to repudiate atomic war or lose their integrity altogether.

- a. The challenge of the situation ought to be brought before the Protestant churches at the gathering of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in August of this

year and in the discussions preceding Amsterdam both in local churches and in church judicatories. This approach is already being explored. (Interested persons may write us for information.)

b. Jewish pacifists ought similarly to challenge the synagogues.

c. Roman Catholic pacifists should call upon their spiritual leaders and upon the Pope to outlaw war and absolve the faithful from participation in it on the ground that total war cannot meet the requirements laid down in the Church's classic doctrine of the Just War. (This matter was dealt with in E. I. Watkins's article in the November issue of FELLOWSHIP and is also discussed in Chapter IX of my book *Not By Might*.)

The Scientists' Role

2. The scientists, especially the nuclear physicists and chemists, are probably more truly the high priests of our culture than the clergy. If catastrophe is to be avoided they must cease waiting for the government or somebody else to tell them to stop making atomic bombs or bacterial weapons. Here also some progress is being made and we urge younger scientists especially, and persons who know scientists who might be interested, to write us at once.

3. Pacifists themselves should be more closely unified. This does not necessarily mean organizational merger though it might in some cases. But neither does it mean simply collaboration on some limited and not distinctively pacifist objective. Unification, fusion of spirits and of efforts, furthermore, does not occur on the basis of a least common denominator program but on a basic issue, philosophy and program. In

the present case it is on the basis, as Albert Camus, the French novelist, editor and Resistance hero, pointed out in the Summer, 1947, issue of *Politics*, that the issue of our age is not Communism versus Capitalism, Russia versus United States, nor even Nationalism versus Internationalism, but Violence versus Non-Violence—between those who will no longer “murder” or be the accomplices of murder and those who are not ready to make that decision.

a. Among religious pacifists there ought to be a closer unity between those in the more conventional churches and sects which are usually nearer the masses, or at any rate larger sections of them, than the former.

b. Similarly, I am convinced that we must strive to bridge the gap which often exists between the so-called religious and the non-religious or “political” pacifist. To an important degree this is a matter of semantics, I surmise, and therefore risky to deal with in a sentence or two. At the risk of being misunderstood, however, I venture the opinion that unification here will be based on the recognition that pacifism, non-violence, conscientious objection, Satyagraha, is first of all and most profoundly a moral and spiritual thing. It is a matter of “conscience” and has to do with the realm of values, with moral choice and decision, with personal and total commitment, with an attitude of spirit which is there in a man or not there, but which if present pervades the whole man and all aspects of his life.

c. There must also be a vigorous effort to develop on a world-scale those “intellectual communities” of which Camus speaks, composed of the leaders of thought who are in growing numbers embracing the

pacifist position and whose task would not be so much that "of constructing a new ideology, but rather of discovering a style of life."

4. I group together in this closing section, for the sake of brevity, a number of suggestions having to do with the life of the spirit and personal responsibility.

a. The salvation which our age needs and seeks will not come from us—though it must come through us—but from God. As someone phrased it at a recent Retreat of pacifists at Pendle Hill, "Peace among men will only come about through the influence of a spiritual power superior to the ordinary thoughts and emotions of men, a power which guides, activates and inspires them to discover and bring about the political and economic conditions of lasting peace."

b. Under the guidance of this Spirit, we must burn with a greater zeal to bring our fellows to the pacifist way of life and program, even as we ourselves break more fully with war activities. Specifically I suggest that all young men who are being appealed to to join the armed forces, all those being trained

as officers in college, should be faced with the challenge of pacifism. How else could their course be intelligently and democratically determined?

c. If we move in the direction suggested in this article, the cell with its discipline and fellowship will necessarily become the basis of our organized pacifist life. If the history of religious and social movements teaches anything at all about method, it is this. To quote from the Pendle Hill Retreat once more, "When we break with a pagan world, we must replace the fellowship we have had in that world with another one."

Finally, to suppose that the crisis of our time will be met successfully by the organizations we have known and belonged to and by ourselves as we have been is surely a fatal mistake. They and we will have to be revolutionized if a truly effective movement is to be built. Let us not despair. Let us not be complacent either and wait for someone else to begin. "Unilateral" decision is the word here. "Lord, and what shall this man do?" asked Peter, pointing to John. And Jesus answered, "What is that to thee? Follow thou me."



First-Person Singular

We get so used to thinking in group terms that, faced with an extra-powerful bomb, we think up every sort of expedient with the single exception of one, the one of first-person-singular action. This love-thy-God business is something for the individual to work at. The rule is stated in the singular number, not in the plural. I can't pass that buck to any committee or legislature; and what is more in my soul I well know that I can't. The still small voice is much louder than all the public address systems of all the Caesars in the world. Let us tune our ears to it, and close them to the prophets of disaster.

—ROGER W. RUIS, *The Christian Century*,
January 1, 1947.

A Meditation for the New Year

Pacifism, said Dick Sheppard, who started the Peace Pledge Union in Britain, doesn't mean "peace at any price." Pacifism means "love at all costs."

A violent allergy against Mars, Mammon, color pride and the prison system is not enough. We have to have strong, positive convictions. Surely none is more urgent than this: "There is a new creation whenever a man comes to be in Christ." Can we, like small steel rods in a dynamic field of energy, be magnetized so that all of us points in the right direction?

In our community is an eighty-one-year-old near saint whose life says Yes. Through two world wars the generals have never owned his conscience. Before we were technically in the last one I was complaining to him in the prayer room how a prominent churchman had withdrawn from the FOR. He smiled. "When there's a disappointment like that," he said, "I tighten my belt another notch so I won't myself be disloyal to Christ." To him the wisdom or compassion that pour through Jesus is unlimited in power. That is his magnetic field. His job, he feels, is to breathe, recall and practice it increasingly. Incidentally, he chairs the local Civil Liberties Union; labor trusts him and so does the church.

The growing edge of evolution is where men are so reborn. That we all have it in us to live, recharged, in such a dimension of being is perhaps the greatest thought ever to enter the mind of man. This re-direction of thinking to which Jesus

pointed is not for highbrows alone. It is for John Doe. Everyone is meant to be different with a new way of behaving and looking at things. Don't ever think of yourself as a push-button. You are a capacity to be transformed. That is the drastic truth from and about Jesus which is the hope of the world.

The headlines frantically deny it. The oncoming drive toward conscription so that youth will acquiesce to the bombs, the current apathy about disarming at home and preventing starvation abroad, the everlasting resistance to the sanction of over-all law, continually broadcast our negativism—that God is negligible, Jesus was mistaken and there is no such magnetic field in which to be made new. But despair, no matter how up-to-date, does not have the last word. There is such a thing as Grace, a power from beyond our little wills that can work within them. The broad sweep of the billion-year effort of life on this planet to break through to something better, suggests the fact. Our bones sense it. We of the human species are being funneled to a narrower and narrower place where we have to decide whether or not we want to become what my neighbor wants to become: a person "in whom Christ is seen to live again." That involves getting our egos out of the way.

How can we possibly do that unless we take more time, a lot more time, for exposure? One doesn't get tanned by staying in the sun two or three minutes a day. "Too much infra-red might give us skin cancer,"

porter of UMT in spite of the fact that the large majority of educators and educational groups, including the American Council on Education, the American Federation of Teachers, the Association of American Colleges, and the National Educational Association, have recorded their opposition to it.

A columnist, Leonard Lyons of the *New York Post*, provided another insight into the President's real purpose in appointing the Commission when he reported that Mr. Truman told its members at their first meeting that UMT was a pet project of his. "As a matter of fact," Lyons quotes the President as saying, "if you succeed in this it will mean the fulfillment of a dream I've had for 35 years."

Surprisingly, the Commission declined the complete role of rubber stamp, and as a result, its findings have not been played up as much as was expected. Although it recommended the adoption of UMT, as expected, it included conscription as only one of six "essential" steps, the adoption of all of which would involve a revolutionary upheaval in every phase of American life. Since the urging of such an over-all program would have been politically inexpedient, and since the Commission inconsiderately declared that UMT without the rest of its program would be valueless, the whole report has been ignored as much as possible by the proponents of conscription.

The Commission proved a boomerang also in its cavalier dismissal of the arguments of the War Department that UMT would be justified on the grounds of improved health, education, and morals. The Commission observed succinctly that all of these tasks could be performed more effectually in other ways, and

then added, to the disgust of UMT-adherents, "This program should only continue for as long as military necessity requires it. When this necessity ceases through the hoped-for growth of a world with real international order and an effective United Nations, it should be quickly abandoned since it has no proper place in American life except to the extent that national security and our world obligations demand it."

War Department Propaganda

But the President's Commission was neither the only example of government propaganda for Universal Military Training, nor the most reprehensible. The War Department, now merged with the Department of Defense, has paid for the production and distribution of expensive motion pictures, has produced and distributed mountains of printed propaganda, has hired and scheduled pro-UMT speakers, and has supplied data and arguments by the wagon-load to its volunteer helpers outside the Pentagon. So flagrant has been this defiance of the legal prohibition on propagandizing by government agencies, that a Congressional subcommittee unanimously referred to it as "illegal" and asked the Department of Justice to take action to stop it. Not too surprisingly, no action so far has been taken by the latter agency.

Most ambitious of the Army's attempts to demonstrate the desirability of UMT has been the "experimental unit" at Fort Knox. Reporters, editors, clergymen, educators, labor leaders, business men—anyone who might be able to influence public opinion—have been invited and, often, transported by Army plane to "see for themselves" how UMT would actually work.

On their visits they see an encampment of some 664 trainees, recruited from the Regular Army. They find the boys apparently unexposed to the traditional evils of Army life: they do not drink, they are not permitted to consort with ladies of easy virtue, they go to church services in unprecedented numbers, they enroll enthusiastically and almost unanimously in various classes available—they do not even use bad language. They seem, in short, to be the next thing to the little boy who wins all the prizes in Sunday School.

Many indiscriminating visitors have accepted this appearance for the substance, and have had all their doubts resolved in a single visit, or, in many cases, simply by a motion picture and a speech by an Army propagandist. Actually, the Fort Knox unit has no more than a nodding acquaintance with the actual conditions of what UMT would be if adopted. It was established for one purpose and one only: to sell UMT to a reluctant public, and its entire program has been shaped to that end.

Fort Knox can be challenged at any of a dozen points, each of them destructive of any claim that this actually is a "pilot unit" of UMT. The "trainees" were all volunteers for the unit, and most of them were volunteers in the Regular Army. Trainees for the actual UMT would be draftees, which introduces at once a vastly different psychological problem.

The boys at Fort Knox have an esprit de corps based on the fact that they have had drilled into them that the "fate of UMT" depends on them. They have been told that by their officers and publicity directors time after time, and it has built up in them a consciousness of being

constantly in the public eye. The result, of course, is unnatural behavior—unnaturally good.

This restraint is enhanced by the fact that a staff of 560 Army and civilian personnel, including psychiatrists, chaplains, teachers and the like, have been assigned to the 664 trainees. Working on the same scale, a UMT adapted to 1,000,000 trainees would require 843,000 supervisory personnel. On the admission of General Devine, commandant at Fort Knox, there are neither trained Army personnel nor the available civilian staff to do anything of the sort. Actually, the Army's plans call for about one-fourth this number.

". . . officers and cadremen (at Fort Knox) were handpicked. They were of superior quality. You couldn't staff UMT on a large scale with such officers because they wouldn't be available."—New York Post, April 16, 1947.

Even with this enormous staff functioning as a sort of all-seeing eye, the Fort Knox results are not what they are cracked up to be. Attendance at religious services was almost 100 percent during the first month, when the only alternative to attendance was an hour-long lecture; after that month it dropped off to a point where only 65% of the Catholic and 25% of the Protestant trainees attend regularly. Enrollment in education courses was only 107 out of 664 boys. In vocational classes 1403 enrolled at the start of the course; in three and a half months, all but 58 had dropped out. The Information and Education officer pointed out that they had the best instructors, that the Education build-

ing was the most attractive in camp in order to induce the men to continue their education. But he admitted that the boys just weren't staying in the courses. He gave as one reason what was also described in the April 16 *New York Post* as follows: "Unfortunately, military exercises, inspections, K.P. and guard duty tire the trainees so that many haven't the energy for school and even recreation." Boys admitted to a visitor that trainees on leave go to nearby Louisville and by the simple expedient of removing the identifying patch on their sleeves, are able to go to bars and houses of prostitution without detection.

But these reactions, which are normal, and only to be expected, have not been publicized. The public is loaded to the ears with the first glowing reports; in the absence of corrections, the assumption is that the conditions remain unchanged.

This brings up naturally the matter of the "good press" UMT in general and Fort Knox in particular have gotten. With few exceptions the magazines and newspapers of mass circulation have slanted, distorted, and suppressed the facts about UMT with astonishing unanimity.

Why this should be so leads into a complex of sociological phenomena that would repay extensive study. Three factors come at once to mind, though with no attempt to assess a relative value to them. First and most obvious of these is that the government, through the War Assets Administration and the War Department itself, has been the heaviest purchaser of advertising space in the country.

Less obvious, but probably more important, is the group-feeling by which newspaper and magazine publishers and editors identify themselves with the ruling classes and

with the system extant: a system founded upon and dependent on violence. And tied up with this is the point-blank refusal of most publishers to consider their periodicals as at least partly public utilities, with an obligation to inform their readers in an unbiased manner of the facts, as nearly as they can be determined, in any major issue of this sort. The editor of the influential *Saturday Evening Post*, Ben Hibbs, recently replied to a labor leader's request for equivalent space to answer a *Post* article strongly favoring the Taft-Hartley Act, with the frank statement that the *Post* was not a forum type of publication and did not feel obligated to give equal space to both sides of any topic.

Whatever the explanation, the fact remains that the press treatment of the UMT issue has been shamefully biased. Every trick of editorial propaganda has been utilized: from the slanting of news articles and location of items in the paper, all the way to the actual omission of important pieces of news that might reflect unfavorably on UMT.

An analysis of the September and October, 1947, issues of the *New York Times*, *Journal-American* (Hearst), and *World Telegram* (Scripps-Howard), for example, showed that these journals favored UMT in their columns, including news, editorials, features, cartoons, letters and columns, by a ratio of more than twelve to one.

Action of important groups in opposition to UMT is consistently ignored or buried on back pages, while speeches favoring conscription are regularly played up, though made by minor officials before relatively insignificant meetings. The *Washington Post*, another writer pointed out recently, gave front-page notice to the action of the Daughters

of the American Revolution, a consistently militaristic organization, in voting support for UMT. The more significant passage of a resolution in opposition by the AFL Executive Council was buried inside the paper.

Magazine treatment has followed the same course, with most popular journals prominently displaying articles favoring UMT by government officials or high brass, while virtually ignoring the other side of the argument. *Reader's Digest*, after many protests at this one-sided handling of so important an issue, finally accepted a manuscript opposing UMT by Brig. Gen. H. C. Holdridge, and paid for it, but subsequently advised the author that it would not be published.

The result of this kind of deliberate distortion of the facts has been, of course, the growth of a public opinion favoring UMT. Public opinion polls have shown a steady increase of support for UMT during the past two years, until, by the past summer, it had reached 75 percent. Exasperated by the failure of Congress immediately to adopt the training bill in the light of these returns, Dr. George C. Gallup, high priest of polls, has charged the government with lagging behind the people.

Actually, even the findings of these polls are open to grave questioning, and Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, reporting that he found great opposition throughout the country, asserted his conviction that "the questions are not phrased so as to reveal the country's real feeling" in the matter.

What happens, of course, is that the issue is greatly over-simplified in order to get a vote that may be tabulated. The questioner asks his subject if he favors a year's military training for all young men. He does

"As of December 31, 1946, 1,313 military personnel held full time positions in Public Relations activities. . . . As of the same date, the War Department had 753 civilian employees doing full time Public Relations work."—Lt. Col. L. D. Perry, in a letter to Rep. E. H. Hedrick.

not mention either conditions or alternatives: he does not point out that adoption of such a program would cost from three to five billion dollars a year, that it would take boys away from home to military camps, that it would militarize all male colleges—he does not, in short, do anything that would serve to define and limit the question. The changes that such refinements might produce are suggested by one poll, in which the subjects were asked to choose between military training and aid to education if the government had just two billion dollars to spend: 56 percent chose education, and only 25 percent military training.

Nevertheless, after making allowance for all such factors, it still is true that many Americans, lumping the informed and the uninformed together, favor UMT. For, as the House subcommittee said in its report: ". . . Government propaganda distorts facts with such authority that the person becomes prejudiced or biased in the direction which the Government propagandists wish to lead national thinking. . . . An individual might be wary and critical of material coming from a 'special interest group' . . . but he will consider as gospel truth, if the Government says the same thing, because he thinks Government officials are impartial."

Every argument for UMT rests

upon a false premise or an exploded concept of war and defense. When groups of citizens have the chance to read both sides, or to hear a debate on the subject, their opinion usually turns heavily against peacetime conscription. Pacifist and non-pacifist opponents alike have done a magnificent job of presenting

these facts to many audiences, but the opposition is strong and undiscouraged. Only a mighty new effort bordering on the miraculous can defeat the new effort of the military, bolstered by another happily coincidental "crisis with Russia," to fasten peacetime conscription on the country.

Descent of Angst

WALLACE HAMILTON

The scribes and pundits write that the atom bomb is a poison weapon. They describe the big cloud rising, fattening with death in its belly. Slow death descends, filters into the blood, weakens, corrupts, and kills. The poison is called radioactivity.

Strange that the scribes and pundits so fear this poison. Radioactivity is weak, ephemeral as a breeze. Its slaughter is kind and quick, taking at most two weeks.

The pundits should know, in all their wisdom, that there is poison in the atom cloud far more fearful than the dislocation of an atom. There is poison that cuts through time and breaks the future from the present. There is poison whose lethal dosage, descending from the stratosphere, makes death counterfeit to life. The name of that poison is angst.

Angst is ancient in origin, and historically has grown in small clouds of weak concentration. The sprouting puffs of gun-powder on battlefields. The smoke of burning houses. The smoke from factory chimneys, and more recently the smog that suffocates whole cities. Of highest concentration is the clotted fretful greyness that is chattel personal to the modern mind and called anxiety.

Small dispersed clouds have low toxicity. They produce vertigo, purblindness, sometimes frantic agitation, and the ills and visitations which are called psychosomatic.

Since Hiroshima, these small, low-toxic clouds have gathered at the mushroom vortex to blend and foment and cast a lethal mist through the world's upper air. Slowly, the mist lowers.

There are clinical descriptions of the phenomenon:

Cyril Connolly: "... angst descends; I wake up in anxiety; like a fog it overlays all I do, and my days are muffled with anguish."

Simone Weil: "Regularly, every morning, the soul castrates itself of aspiration, for thought cannot journey through time without meeting death on the way."

Like radioactivity, angst will produce mutations in the species. Poison in the blood; poison in the genes. The monsters which are born and allowed to die will have other monsters to replace them. Idiots will grow up to stare at walls and tinkle little cymbals rhythmically.

Other mutations in the human species are equally loathsome in the sight of man. Those other mutations are called saints.

News from the Peace Front

President Denies General CO Amnesty

A complete and final denial of amnesty to most of the conscientious objectors imprisoned during the recent war was President Truman's Christmas gift to the thousands of individuals and organizations that had urged complete pardons for all Selective Service violators. That was the real import of the announcement, on the day before Christmas, that the President's Amnesty Board had recommended, and the President granted, pardons to 1,523 draft act violators.

The Board, announcing that it had reviewed individually all of the 15,805 cases during the past year, revealed that its actions, except in a few cases, went by categories. Thus, the only COs generally to receive pardons were those who had been wrongly classed 1A by their draft boards.

It denied amnesty to COs imprisoned for objecting on the basis of "intellectual, political, or sociological convictions." Among this group the Board included COs who had been classified IV-E, and thus were presumably religiously motivated, but who had refused to report to CPS or who had "walked out" of CPS some time after induction. It included here also COs who refused to register in the first place. All these, it reported, had "set themselves up as wiser and more competent than society to determine their duty to come to the defense of the nation."

Among the 1,523 pardoned were several hundred non-CO draft evaders who, after apprehension and imprisonment, had accepted parole in-

to the army and had gotten honorable discharges after less than one year of service. (Provision had been made previously for the automatic pardon of such men who had served more than a year.)

The Amnesty Board's report to the President was labeled its "first and final," thus eliminating the possibility of appeal for a change of the decision. Members of the Board were former Justice Owen J. Roberts, chairman of the Citizens' Committee for UMT; James F. O'Neil, national commander of the American Legion; and Willis Smith, former president of the American Bar Association.

Freedom Train Pickets Conviction Reversed

Joseph W. Reilly and Edmund I. Gordon, arrested in Philadelphia on September 13 for distributing amnesty leaflets at an Independence Square rally for the Freedom Train, were freed October 31 in Quarter Sessions Court and declared not guilty by Judge James C. Crumlish. Judge Crumlish's decision reversed an earlier conviction in the court of Magistrate James E. Costello on charges of disorderly conduct and interfering with a lawful, patriotic assembly. The earlier conviction carried a sentence of thirty days or \$10 fine.

The story in November FELLOWSHIP about the Freedom Train incorrectly stated that the amnesty documents signed by previous Presidents were carried on the Train.

New Relief Group Formed; Will Go to Russian Zone

A new organization called SAFE (Save a Friend in Europe) which delivers food packages to people in Germany and Austria in an average of ten days from receipt of the order here has been founded by some of the former officials of CARE's European organization. SAFE is able to deliver quickly by eliminating red tape and paper work. Its package costs \$10 and is similar to CARE's, but contains more fats.

A food package will soon be ready for delivery by SAFE in the Russian zone of Germany, where CARE has no entree, but will take several weeks. Write for information to SAFE, 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, N. Y.

Warns of "Begging Letters"

The Church World Service, relief agency for more than a score of Protestant denominations, has recently warned that many "begging" letters are now reaching individuals in this country, and suggested that recipients of such letters turn them over to a recognized agency for investigation. CWS has had turned over to it as many as thirteen such letters from the same writer, so that if the writer received even a fractional return he would be disproportionately helped, or might set up in black market operations. Agencies can find out whether the writers are in real need.

Correction

The poem "Refusal" on the first inside page of November FELLOWSHIP was erroneously attributed to Leon Thomson. The author is Ruth Mary Packard.

Hollywood Fires "Reds" Without Hearing

Hollywood's major studios have discharged or suspended without pay the ten Hollywood writers, directors and producers who were cited for contempt of Congress in defying the House Un-American Committee. The movie industry's moguls also issued a statement that they will "not knowingly employ a Communist" or any other radical. No evidence of a factual nature was produced at the Congressional hearings to prove the assertions of witnesses that these men were Communists. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, declared in connection with this latest action that the film industry was "not going to be swayed by hysteria or intimidation from any source."

Young Enthusiasts Work For World Government

In Evanston, Illinois, forty young people are working sixteen hours or more a day for a solution to the world problems of war and poverty. They call their organization *The World Republic*. It was formed in March, 1946, when seven veterans studying at Northwestern University gave up their education to work full time at what they believed to be the only method of averting another war. The full time workers for the organization receive \$7 a week plus room and board. The organization, which began in a one-car garage donated for an office and now has 5,000 members and a three-story building, aims to convene a people's world constitutional convention, create a world constitution, and submit it to the people of the world.

National Council Considers Budget, Tax Refusal

The 1948 budget and questions of income-tax refusal shared the spotlight at the meeting of the FOR National Council November 20-22. The meetings, held at the Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York City, attracted delegates and staff members from the east and midwest principally. Total attendance was 49.

Passmore Elkinton, FOR treasurer, presented the report of the Budget Committee. Pointing out that the national organization is operating with no reserve fund whatever, he emphasized the feeling of both staff and budget committee that such a fund must be considered an essential part of the 1948 budget. The figure of \$10,000 was suggested and accepted as the amount to be set aside for this purpose in 1948.

The only major addition to the proposed budget was an increase of approximately ten per cent in salaries, which was felt to be imperative. This increase will not go into effect, however, until March 31 unless the reserve fund is in sight before that date. Salaries under the new scale will be computed on the same basis—a cost-of-living factor—for both executive and office staffs.

Tax Refusal Problem

A "Tax-Refusal Committee," appointed at the National Conference, reported that it had reached no general conclusions as yet, but that one member of the staff had expressed the intention of refusing to pay income tax after December 31, 1947, and had requested the FOR not to withhold tax payments from her salary after that date. Lengthy discussion revealed a general feeling that the matter needed more thought, and

it was referred back to the Tax Committee, with instructions to refer to the Executive Committee and, by a mail poll, back to the Council.

The Council members heard reports on various phases of the FOR work, and considered a recommendation by Allan Knight Chalmers and John Nevin Sayre that a greater emphasis be given to work within the churches. No action was taken.

Reports also were made on various phases of the Fellowship's work, including the Racial-Industrial, International, and Literature departments. Devotional sessions were led by Allan Knight Chalmers, Dan West, Phillips Elliott, and Passmore Elkinton.

To spread the message

A. J. Muste, John Swomley, Bayard Rustin and other speakers find a tremendous response in all parts of the country to a presentation of the outright pacifist position, and the need of a basic rethinking of important issues.

There never will be a better time for sending FELLOWSHIP to your friends, to your minister, to school teachers, and to public libraries and those in schools and churches. The new format is pleasing to the eye, new features to be introduced will add to the magazine's interest, and FELLOWSHIP's continuing policy of presenting basic, important issues makes it a magazine for anyone who cares what happens to this nation and to the world.

1948 will be a year of heightened tensions, and of significant decisions. Don't let it go by without doing everything you can to spread the pacifist message.

Jottings

The United States Supreme Court in a five to four decision upheld the conviction of three Jehovah's Witnesses for walking out of CPS camps. The defense was based on the claim to ministerial status of JW's, and the four dissenting Justices, for different reasons, believed that they should have received such status.

* * *

Muriel Lester's itinerary for January and February, so far as it has been worked out, is as follows: January 11-14, Norfolk, Virginia; Jan. 19-20, Granville, O.; Jan. 21, Columbus, O.; Jan. 22, Akron, O.; Jan. 23, Rochester, N. Y.; Jan. 25, Keuka, N. Y.; February 1, Princeton, N. J.; Feb. 4-8, Richmond, Va.; Feb. 9-15, Greensboro, N. C.; Feb. 16-20 (approx.), Macon, Ga.

* * *

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches recently reaffirmed its opposition to UMT.

* * *

A fund in memory of Charlotte Bentley, devoted FOR member, Friend, and Socialist, has been founded by her friends. The money will be divided between the National FOR and the New York organization, of which she was formerly the Youth Secretary. Contributions earmarked for other projects in which Charlotte was interested may also be sent. Write to N. Y. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 45 Astor Place, New York City 3.

* * *

The Nobel Peace Prize money received by the American Friends Service Committee will be spent partly "on Russian children, and for

the encouragement of good will between our peoples," announced Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the Committee.

* * *

A one-man exhibition of the paintings of Fritz von Unruh, author of *The End Is Not Yet*, who spoke at the FOR National Conference in August, was held in New York in November.

* * *

Correction

Harrop Freeman was incorrectly designated in November FELLOWSHIP as the Acting Dean of the Cornell Law School. His correct title is Associate Professor.

Nut Trees—Crop Trees

Hardy grafted nut trees, all kinds. Read about them. Chinese and American Persimmons, Honey Locust, Select strains—William Penn Oak, Chinese Chestnuts.

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Peace Action Abroad

British Pacifists Plan Civil Disobedience

Opposition to peacetime conscription, which is now in force in Great Britain, is reported by *Peace News*, organ of the Peace Pledge Union, to be spreading in Wales and England. In Wales, where the Non-Conformist Churches and Welsh Nationalists are almost solid in their opposition, a fellowship is being formed of well-disciplined men and women who will engage in acts of civil disobedience in the tradition of Gandhi.

Prominent Welshmen are advising young men to refuse to register, says *Peace News*, and will go into the courts and tell the magistrates that it was on their advice that the young men acted. Another technique to be used is picketing of registration centers on registration days in an endeavor to persuade young men to rethink their position and refuse.

In England a vigorous campaign is being pushed by the Peace Pledge Union, and widespread meetings on the issue are being held.

Australians Defy Rocket-Protest Gag

In Australia, whose experiments with long-range guided missiles, mentioned in May *FELLOWSHIP*, were described as "not an aggressive action," the government has passed a bill making it a crime to boycott or obstruct a defense project. The Bill, only 53 lines long, was voted in the House of Representatives two days after it was introduced, after two hours of debate in an end-of-the-session all night meeting. It pro-

hibits, on pain of a fine of not more than £5,000 or imprisonment for not more than twelve months, any spoken or written sentiment advocating or encouraging the prevention, hindrance or obstruction of the carrying out of an approved defense project.

If the government chose to send an expeditionary force, say to Java, it could be declared a "defense project" and would then be outside the realm of allowable criticism. Australian pacifists are determined to resist this assault on basic civil liberties, and have held meetings protesting against the rocket range and against the "Approved Defense Projects Act." Under the new Act, they could be prosecuted for holding such meetings.

Czech FOR Publishes Monthly Newsletter

The Czechoslovakian FOR is beginning publication of a semi-monthly newsletter in December, which will probably be called *Agapea* (Greek for "love"). The first issue will be devoted to the concept of "fellowship," with articles on its theological implications, its early Christian expressions and its modern application.

A leader of the Czech Fellowship is Enrico C. S. Molnar, who recently returned to Czechoslovakia from California, and now ministers to a congregation of 560 members in a small town in Bohemia.

Mr. Molnar writes that "everybody here feels *very unfortunate* over the development of the relations between East and West; we are en-

countering more and more people living in a constant condition of despair. . . . On one side there is the blank wall of Russia, on the other side the blank wall of USA. . . . It is hard to build anything with this despairing people, but we will try. All of us of the FOR agree that it is very essential that there should be a closer intellectual bond among the different national FOR groups. The knowledge of the existence and work and faith of such groups in other countries strengthens us in our own determination to carry on. . . ."

Dutch Mennonites Return to Non-Violence

Half of Holland's Mennonite ministers have indicated their willingness to return to the principles of non-resistance which is a basic tenet of the Mennonite faith, but which had been largely lost by the Dutch Mennonites for many years, reported Dr. T. O. Hylkema, of Singel Mennonite Church in Amsterdam. Speaking to Mennonite groups here, he said that a small non-resistant peace group organized in Holland a few years ago has grown greatly, now numbering these ministers among its members.

IFOR Committee Votes Aid to Specific Projects

The American IFOR Committee met recently to clarify the policies of the War Victims Fund, and in the future will give priority to a few specific projects that will stand out in several countries as symbolizing the FOR spirit and objectives. Such projects are the school at Le Chambon and Premysl Pitter's homes for children from concentration camps, in Czechoslovakia. Nevin Sayre will

explore with FOR leaders in other countries the most suitable projects and the best ways to implement them. This does not entirely preclude smaller gifts to individuals, however, and the Gift Parcels and Gift Literature Program will be continued as vigorously as before.

FOR War Victims Fund Sent \$8450 in 1947

In addition to the budget for IFOR and the hundreds of Gift Parcels sent overseas through the work of our Baltimore office, the *War Victims Fund* at 2929 Broadway, New York has financed and arranged distribution of goods overseas in 1947 in the following amounts:

Austria:
distributed by Kaspar Mayr \$ 500

Germany: distributed by:
F. Siegmund-Schultze 3200
Wilhelm Mensching 650

(including \$150 from Episcopal
Pacifist Fellowship)

War Prisoners Camp in charge
of Major Howie for "missing
persons" 400

Frankfurt University students 500

Rector and Students in

Goettingen University 250

Asta Brugelmann, Secretary of

German FOR 250

Gifts to various persons col-
lected by staff at 2929 Broadway 700

Hungary:
distributed by Albert Simon 100

Italy:
distributed by Claud Nelson 900

Japan:
food parcels to individuals se-
lected by Theodore Walser, and
packed by N. Y. FOR office 500

Spain:
transportation to Mexico of
Senora Jose Brocca 500

On the Race Front

Civil Rights Committee Hits Washington Jim Crow

The President's Committee on Civil Rights has just made public its report and precipitated a civic battle in Washington, D. C., over the issue of racial segregation and discrimination. In a blunt, hard-hitting statement, the Committee pointed to discrimination in education, housing, health services and employment, and called for federal legislation barring discrimination and segregation in publicly supported institutions.

The Committee asked that segregation in Washington schools, where "Negro schools are inferior to white schools in almost every respect," be abolished. It demanded that restrictive covenants be barred, pointing out that Negroes are being inexorably forced into a few overcrowded slums while the all-white real estate board protects white areas from "invasion," so that now seventy per cent of the inhabitants of the three worst slum areas are Negroes.

Conservative business groups, led by the dignitaries of the all-white Board of Trade, are pooh-poohing the report, and insisting that its disclosures are unfair to Washington.

Opposes Segregation in Military Training

A Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training has been founded by Negroes with the purpose of insuring inclusion of racial equality provisions in any legislation for universal military

training. A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, treasurer of the new Committee, says: "The Pentagon's determination to by-pass this segregation issue has created for Negroes a crisis as grave as the 1941 job crisis."

Among the more than a hundred prominent members on the Committee are Horace R. Cayton, George S. Schuyler, Dr. Channing H. Tobias and Joe Louis.

Who Done It?

In Loganville, Georgia, twenty miles east of Atlanta, all Negro churches and schools have been destroyed by fire in the past month. Mayor C. H. Byrd, on behalf of the city, has offered a \$100 reward for the arrest of those responsible for setting the fires, but no progress has been made. Mayor Byrd said that he did not believe white persons or racial troubles were responsible (Loganville is in Walton County, where in July 1946 four Negroes were lynched) and suggested that there was a feud between sections of the Negro population, or that the Negroes were attempting to "attract nationwide sympathy" by setting fire to their own buildings. No comment was available from Loganville Negroes.

TILL DEATH US DO PART

By CHARLES WESLEY AMLIN

Introduction by Carey McWilliams

Proposes completely new marriage law
With unconventional discussion of the religio-sexual

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2026 Camden Parkway, South Pasadena, Calif.

The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

A Study of the State

Leviathan in Crisis—An International Symposium on the State, Its Past, Present, and Future, by Fifty-Four Twentieth Century Writers. Compiled and edited by Waldo R. Browne. Viking, New York, 1946. Pp. xvi + 430. \$3.75.

This is no ordinary anthology of political science "materials" but an exceptionally well-chosen collection of brilliantly written and internationally representative essays dealing with the "proper" functions of government. The former editor of the *Dial*, an experienced compiler, has contributed a valuable introductory essay which, had it been matched by an epilogue of similar quality, could have established this volume as the definitive reference on the Sovereign State of today. His own position is that we are all suffering from a devastating world-disease, *Leviathanitis*, which can only be cured by "humanizing" the State, i.e., "it must renounce what have hitherto been its chief preoccupations, the promotion of class interests and the organization of national egotism, devoting itself instead to the promotion of common interests and the organization of world-wide altruism."

The first paper by Dewey sweeps away much of the mystery in demonstrating that a public forms a State only by and through officials and their acts, and that such individuals are to be approved or condemned only in terms of the effects of their behavior on themselves and others. An impressive excerpt from Oppenheimer declares that the State originated in military conquest

and had no other aim than the sustained exploitation of the vanquished by the victors. Veblen's vigorous analysis of the Predatory State continues in the same vein, emphasizing the peril of carrying over intact into the ideals of democratic citizenship the ancient habitual solidarity of national conceit, fear, hate, contempt, and *servility* which in times of stress operates to erase any effectual distinction between honest politics and corrupt politics.

Chamberlain accepts the theory that the gangster State was originally a "strict racket" which later softened into a "limited racket," adapting itself to such pressures as arise from the recognition that *the State is as much mine, or yours, as the other fellow's*. Although Bertrand Russell considers the State the most serious menace to liberty, yet many of its functions must be extended rather than curtailed. "So long as war remains a daily imminent danger, the State will remain a Moloch, sacrificing sometimes the life of the individual, and always his unfettered development, to the barren struggle for mastery in the competition with other States. In internal as in external affairs, the worst enemy of freedom is war."

Lenin flatly declares that the replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian State is impossible without a violent revolution. Friedrich offers the stimulating suggestion that in a constitutional democracy, *the State does not exist*—it and "sovereignty" are symbols of totalitarian government incompatible with the essence of Christianity. Bourne limits the "State" to the or-

ganization of the herd to act offensively or defensively against another herd similarly organized, whereas only the "country" engages in the enterprise of education and the carrying out of spiritual ideals such as "the effort of reason and the adventure of beauty." Huxley rightly insists that the nub of the problem lies in the relations between a small class of rulers, corrupted by too much power, and a large class of subjects, corrupted by too much passive and irresponsible obedience. Laski cleverly phrases the pluralist view that sovereignty means no more than the ability to secure assent and that the basis of the "moral" State lies in consent to disagreement.

Madariaga contributes the idea that the humblest citizen of the humblest nation has an ethical finality which the proudest empire has not. In Hobhouse, we meet the notion that politics must be morality extended and defined, stripped of the limitations of class or national prejudice. From such an appropriate source as the theologian, Inge, comes the thought that to worship the State is to worship a demon who has not even the redeeming quality of being intelligent! Joad adds that the abstract ends of the State for which wars are fought are of less value than a single man's blood or a single woman's tears; yet how long will men continue to sacrifice their lives and happiness on the altar of a nonentity? According to Huizinga, the State will "never be able to discard all principles of Christian or social ethics without incurring the ultimate penalty of perishing in the consequence of such action."

Delaisi and Bradford observe that nations remain unwilling to

recognize the factual interdependence which binds them to each other so that they wound themselves when they think they are striking at their neighbors. The creed of philosophical anarchism is well expounded and criticized by Hocking, but the sections in support of the Service or Planning State seem to point more cogently in the direction that institutional changes should occur. Trotter pleads for the adoption of a rational statecraft based upon the simple truth that there is no responsibility for man's destiny anywhere at all outside his own responsibility, that there is no remedy for his ills outside his own efforts. This strikes the theme for these concluding selections which all point, with guarded optimism, toward a solution in the form of a World Commonwealth. Here Burnss sagely reminds us that this generation lies somewhere between the year 50,000 B. C. and 50,000 A. D.—an insight which may aid in preserving perspective when the going is rough.

The rich ideas conveyed by this important body of essays are all solid "brain food" made palatable by the superior prose in which they are expressed. The deification of the State will impress and disturb the religionist; the possibility of making it a worthy instrument of man's generous purposes will inspire the socialist; and its tragic use as a repressive agency will evoke a determination on the part of the libertarian pacifist to control its many evil propensities. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that just as science is essentially what scientists know and do, so the State as a flexible social instrument can become whatever politicians and those who support or obey them wish it to be. In matters

political, as in other affairs, it remains true that whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.

GEORGE W. HARTMANN

Religion and Economics

Economic Life: A Christian Responsibility, by Cameron P. Hall. A study guide on the Report of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, Department of the Church and Economic Life, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, August 1947. 96 pp. 35c each.

This pamphlet does an excellent job of raising questions where economics and religion are both involved. It is well written, and interesting even for jaded liberals to read. The questions are phrased in general form, followed by a series of specific questions, or in some cases by specific statements of alternative points of view, and are stated in such a way as to form an excellent series of spots from which to start discussions. The points of view are fairly presented so that the case is not "loaded" on one side.

However, not enough emphasis is given to some of the very important current problems, such as rebuilding Europe, maintaining full employment, dealing with high prices and inflation, the development of government agencies into representatives of special groups (agriculture and commerce departments), and the problem of encouraging technological advancement. It is well to start on local problems, of course, but the suggested community survey (pp. 66-8) could easily turn into a mere study of facts. The problems suggested are important, however, and there is not the over-emphasis on labor relations so common to liberal religion.

A much more serious objection has to do with the bibliography. Except for labor relations and cooperatives, it seems inadequate. Furthermore, no distinction is made between sources of (a) factual information, (b) technical analysis of factors involved and their relations, and (c) ethical, religious, and polemic discussion of attitudes and policies.

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The list is heavily weighted with the last type, which seems to this reviewer the least helpful as background for discussion. And in the extremely important problem of combating inflation and unemployment the only reference is to Hazlitt, a very unhelpful book by a bitter foe of analyses and methods which are now accepted by most economists.

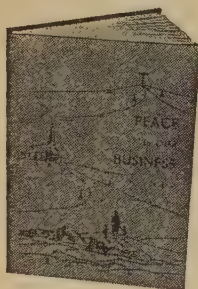
Discussion groups could well afford to use this pamphlet for the questions it raises, but if they dis-

cuss anything except labor relations they would do well to seek elsewhere for their bibliography.

JAMES N. MORGAN

The Jane Addams Peace Collection of the Swarthmore College Library wishes to complete its files of *The World Tomorrow*. Anyone having copies for the years 1918 (Vol. II) through 1921 (Vol. IV) and willing to give them for this should send them to the Library at Swarthmore, Penna.

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Non-Violent Weapons?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It seems to me that now is the psychological moment for pacifists to publicize a demand that non-violent weapons be invented for police action. We pacifists recognize the necessity for disarmament if the U.N. is not to break up in chaos or become a means of dictatorial government. But police action will certainly be necessary, as it is in all large-scale government.

A primitive type of non-violent weapon is the lasso. Cold water from a hose may cool the passions of a mob, and tear gas may perform a similar function without injuring people seriously. When we think of the wonders our modern scientists and inventors have accomplished, it would seem a very simple task for them to invent modern devices that could be used, without serious injury to any one, in all situations in which police action may be involved. Of course the police would need special training in the use of the new weapons and in various types of non-violent techniques. The non-violent International Police might offer an attractive career to a venturesome young pacifist.

In these days of rapid change, it is possible that we may change our course toward complete disarmament and permanent peace sooner than we think. After all, there is something of God in every man.

MARY S. McDOWELL
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Proposal for Growth

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

The possibility of almost immediate extinction is a new factor which makes ob-

solete or irrelevant much of our former activity. If mankind's problem is not appreciably different from what it has always been—how develop mature persons, how grow up psychologically and mentally and socially, how realize the full human potential for good—at least there is reason to suppose that the strategy for these times must be vastly altered.

We're ready to admit it's pretty unrealistic to suppose a handful of us will change our country's direction enough to avert impending calamity. The powers opposing us are too great; our numbers too few.

Frustrated by just this sense of futility, a small group met in our home last spring to ask how one might escape this dilemma. We stopped setting in contrast the vastness of the task and the scarcity of persons interested in tackling it, and began to inquire into the nature of our responsibilities.

First, we admitted that Philip Wylie was right when he suggested that if we want a better world, we will have to be better people. There isn't time to "enjoy" maladjustments nor to load them onto others. *Individual maturity is essential!*

Second, we now saw with frightening realism that we would have to revise our lives drastically on the economic plane if we were in earnest about doing all we could. *Freedom from economic slavery is a "must"!*

And third, in order to achieve most readily individual maturity and economic freedom, we knew we needed the stimulus and cooperation of one another. *Group action is required!*

The plan is to solve our economic problem by maintaining not a half-dozen but one household, either a large dwelling in the city or a small acreage, close in, where some food can be produced. The keynote is maximum savings, minimum

maintenance effort, adequate privacy, and full value from close association with each other. With each of us freed from the daily cares of keeping his own house, all have considerably more time for study, discussion, and fruitful activity as world citizens. Some who have been working full time need work only part time now, possibly one or two members gain *full time* for awhile to devote to the group objective.

This living, working fellowship is at last free to do some growing, is ready to bring forth worthy fruits. If a group of responsible persons has its direction clearly in mind and is prepared to act fearlessly but intelligently, it need not worry unduly about the specific action which will be forthcoming.

This then is what we propose to do about *our* frustration in these times. Suggestions or questions from interested persons anywhere will be thoughtfully considered.

RALPH AND MARTHA ODOM
Berkeley, California.

FOR and Politics

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

At the National FOR Conference this year when political action came up for consideration, Nevin Sayre (apparently with considerable support from others) suggested that we go slow on the matter of political action, but that we should be more concerned about the religious emphasis in the FOR. This leads me to ask what is religious? Is not all of life a whole? Should we not only know God, but also live constantly with him?

Should we not work for the realization of God's Way more completely by direct

political action as well as in other ways? Isn't work in political and economic realms for helping mankind to a finer life one of the best ways of worshipping God?

I would be glad to send a copy of a new party platform based on principles that I believe that FOR members should be working for to those who are really interested in doing something in this field. Why should we not take the initiative in challenging the common people of America to join in a party that really stands for the things that would eliminate war and bring greater life to all men?

ARTHUR DELAMARTER
Port Austin, Mich.

... and World Government

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In looking over the conference resolutions and the report of the National Conference in the October issue of FELLOWSHIP we were surprised and dismayed. The conference has failed to support, not to mention giving it the primary importance it deserves, federal world government. We think that a substantial number of FOR members feel that working for world government is of supreme urgency—that achieving world government is the only hope of avoiding war.

DOROTHY and MILBURN PEHL
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